

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00  
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07  
TRSE-00 CU-02 IO-13 DHA-02 /076 W  
-----126226 291509Z /44

O R 291250Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1247

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

USMISSION NATO

USUN NEW YORK 997

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4370

FOR EUR/RPM

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: CYPRUS ISSUE AT CSCE BELGRADE

REF: STATE 14669

1. FOR THE RECORD, TURKISH DELEGATION HEAD (BENLERBH HAS ALSO COMPLAINED TO USDEL ABOUT CONTENT OF SECOND SEMI-ANNUAL CSCE REPORT. HE HAD NOT SEEN REPORT, HOWEVER, AND WHEN WE SHOWED IT TO HIM, HE WAS SURPRISED BY BREVITY AND RELATIVELY ANODYNE CONTENT OF SECTION ON CYPRUS. HE DID NOT MAKE A FORMAL DEMARCHE, IN VIEW OF CLOSE AND INFORMAL RELATIONS WHICH EXIST BETWEEN TURKISH AND USDELS, BUT MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WAS UNDER INSTRUCTION TO RAISE MATTER WITH US.  
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2. CERTAINLY CYPRUS WILL BE RAISED DURING CSCE. THE CSCE FINAL ACT CONTAINS DETAILED PRINCIPLES ON SOVEREIGN EQUALITY, RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS INHERENT IN SOVEREIGNTY; REFRAINING FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE; INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS; TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF STATES; PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES; NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS;

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS; AND EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT A REVIEW OF HOW THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED SINCE AUGUST, 1975 COULD OVERLOOK THE CYPRUS SITUATION. THE SEMI-ANNUAL REPORTS REFERENCE TO CYPRUS DID NOT CHANGE THIS SITUATION; A DISCUSSION OF CYPRUS HAS BEEN INEVITABLE ALL ALONG. THE QUESTION IS HOW THE MATTER WILL BE RAISED, AND HOW DISRUPTIVE IT WILL BE TO THE WORK OF THE MEETING.

3. SHOULD THE PATTERS FOLLOWED PRVIOUSLY IN CSCE BE FOLLOWED, THE CYPRUS ISSUE WOULD BE RAISED BY CYPRUS AS A SUBSTANTIVE MATTER RELATING TO THE PRINCIPLES. THE CYPRIOTS WILL NO DOUBT RECEIVE A GREAT DEAL OF SYMPATHY FROM OTHER DELEGATIONS. THE TURKS WILL, FOLLOWING THEIR PREVIOUS PATTERN, REPLY IN KIND, RECALLING ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES BY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, PARTICULARLY IN THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE TURKISH OCCUPATION. IF THIS PATTERN IS FOLLOWED, THE MEETING SHOULD BE ABLE TO MOVE ON FOLLOWING EACH CYPRIOT-TURKISH EXCHANGE. SINCE CONSENSUS IS REQUIRED ON ALL

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
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USUN NEW YORK 998

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4370

MATTERS, NO RESULT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FROM THESE DISCUSSIONS AND THE ONLY TRACES OF THEM WOULD BE FORMAL RESERVATIONS MADE BY ONE OR BOTH SIDES. SUCH FORMAL RESERVATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE BEFORE--EVEN AT THE HELSINKI

SUMMIT--WITHOUT SERIOUSLY DISRUPTING THE CONFERENCE.

4. A MORE SERIOUS AND PROBLEMATIC POSSIBILITY WOULD BE THAT THE TURKS WOULD RAISE A PROBLEM RELATING TO THE CREDENTIALS OF THE CYPRIOT DELEGATION. THIS IS A POSSIBILITY WHICH THEY MUTTERED DARKLY ABOUT DURING THE CSCE ITSELF AND WHICH THEY HAVE RECALLED AGAIN HERE IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS WITH US. UNDER THIS POSSIBILITY THE TURKS COULD EITHER DIRECTLY CHALLENGE THE CREDENTIALS OF THE CYPRIOT DELEGATION OR COULD SEEK TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY. THE FIRST OF THESE WOULD CAUSE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE CSCE, WHICH HAS NEVER HAD A CREDENTIALS DISPUTE. SHOULD THE TURKS HOLD THEIR GROUND CONSENSUS WOULD BE

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NOT BE POSSIBLE AND IT IS ANYONE'S GUESS AS TO WHAT ELABORATE PROCEDURAL DEVICES WOULD BE FOUND TO GET AROUND THE DIFFICULTY. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT THIS ALTERNATIVE IS LESS LIKELY THAN THAT THE TURKS WOULD TRY TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. IF THE TURKS WERE TO DO THIS, THE CYPRIOTS COULD BE EXPECTED TO RAISE A POINT OF ORDER AND A DIFFICULT PROCEDURAL DISPUTE WOULD FOLLOW. HERE AGAIN, SOME INGENIOUS PROCEDURAL DEVICE WOULD HAVE TO BE FOUND TO GET AROUND THE PROBLEM. WE BELIEVE THAT THE CSCE CAN ABSORB ANY OF THESE CRISES, ALTHOUGH THEY COULD CREATE BITTER DISPUTES (AND POSSIBLY HEADLINES), AND WOULD DELAY WORK.

5. WE BELIEVE OUR BEST APPROACH TO THIS PROBLEM IS TO TRY TO TEMPER THE ATTITUDES OF THE CYPRIOT AND TURKISH DELEGATIONS HERE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE THROUGH CAREFUL CORRIDOR WORK, REINFORCED IN REGULAR CONTACTS WITH TURKS AND CYPRIOTS IN CAPITALS AS THE SUBJECT ARISES. OUR LINE SHOULD BE THAT RAISING CYPRUS ISSUES AT BELGRADE WILL NOT IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS AND WILL GREATLY COMPLICATE THE BELGRADE MEETING, IN WHICH ALL PARTICIPANTS HAVE AN EQUAL INTEREST. IT SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED, HOWEVER, THAT IN THE END THE ONLY WAY CYPRUS-RELATED ISSUES CAN BE AMIDZED IN BELGRADE WILL BE THROUGH ACCEPTABLE

PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLUTIONS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.  
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## Message Attributes

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